MINUTES
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

HELD IN LONDON ON JUNE 12, 1840

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OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION,

CALLED BY THE COMMITTEE

OF THE

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

HELD IN

LONDON ON THE 12TH OF JUNE, 1840,

AND CONTINUED BY ADJOURNMENTS TO THE 23RD OF THE SAME MONTH.

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MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

JUNE 12TH, FRIDAY.

The objects of the Convention.

THE REV. THOMAS SCALES read a paper expounding and defining the objects of this Convention.

13TH, SATURDAY.

The essential sinfulness of slavery.—British India.—On the influence of slavery in regard to morality, &c.—Statements on slavery in Denmark.

The Rev. B. GODWIN of Oxford read a paper on "The essential sinfulness of Slavery, and its opposition to the spirit and precepts of the Gospel."

Professor ADAM read a paper on British India.

Rev. W. BEVAN read a paper on Slavery as to "its moral influence on the character of the Enslaver and the Enslaved, and its opposition to the advance of Civilization, Education, and Christianity."

G. W. ALEXANDER, Esq., made statements relating to Slaves in the Colonies of Denmark, which kingdom he had visited.

15TH, MONDAY.

Committee appointed on free-labour.—Committee on the results of emancipation in the British Colonies.—On slave ships cast on British shores, and resolutions thereon.—Resolutions on Literature, affecting Anti-Slavery enterprise.—Manuscript volume, on slavery in America.

A Committee, consisting of JOHN CROPPER, JOSIAH CONDER, and JOHN STURGE, Esqrs., was appointed to collect and arrange

facts on the advantages of free over slave-labour, and report thereon, such report to detail the most effectual means for securing the adoption of free-labour.

A Committee was appointed, consisting of the Rev. W. Knibb, S. J. Prescod, W. W. Anderson, W. Morgan, Esqrs., and Captain C. Stuart, with power to add to their number, to obtain and arrange evidence on the results of Emancipation in the British Colonies, and to report a resolution thereon; also to consider and report the measures now necessary for securing and rendering permanent, freedom in the said colonies.

Whereas, in the year 1835, a certain cargo of slaves was shipped from one of the ports of the United States to another port within the same; and whereas the ship whilst performing the voyage was providentially driven on one of the British West India islands, and the said slaves, of course, by the operation of British law, made free; and whereas the American government, on behalf of the persons claiming said slaves as their property, demanded of the British government, either that said slaves should be delivered up, or that remuneration should be made to their pretended owners; and whereas the British government refused to comply with the requisition for the delivery up of said slaves, or with its alternative, and this on the ground that the British government had ceased, on any part of its territory, to recognize the right of one man to hold property in the person of another; and whereas the slave-holding interest in the United States is attempting, in the Congress of the United States, to stir up the American government to resist the principle on which such remuneration was refused. And whereas, in the prosecution of this attempt, a resolution was recently received in the House of Representatives of the United States, urging that government to insist on an arrangement with the British government, by which slaves escaping from their masters in the United States into

the British dependencies on the American continent, should either be delivered up to their masters, or a full indemnity paid for them. And whereas, in the further prosecution of the said unjust object, the senate of the United States, by a resolution passed in April last, declared in effect, that if an American ship or vessel carrying on the slave-trade between any of the ports in the United States, should be forced by stress of weather or any other unavoidable cause into the port, and under the jurisdiction of a friendly power, she and her cargo, and the persons on board with their property, and the rights belonging to their personal relations, as established by the laws of the state to which they belong, would be placed under the protection which the laws of nations extend to the unfortunate, under such circumstances.

Wherefore,

It was Resolved,—As the sense of this Convention, that the proposition embodied in said resolutions, to wit, to sustain by the sanctions of public law, which are founded on the principles of natural justice and right, the pretensions of the slave-system which exists only by disregarding justice, and annihilating right, is not only unchristian and absurd, but disrespectful to the common sense of mankind. That this, the first attempt known in the history of nations, to convert the pretensions of slave-holders into rights, and as such to engraft them on the system of public law, by which the intercourse of nations is regulated, ought never to have emanated from the senate of a people, who, from a period of time coeval with their independent national existence, have asserted before the whole world, and in the most solemn manner, that all men are created equal—are entitled to their liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness:—That to allow such a proposition, would be not less inconsistent with the honour and dignity of Great Britain, and of such of the other nations of the world as have either abolished slavery within their respective limits, or are in good faith proceeding so to do, and is hostile to the avowed principles of that people among whom it has originated, and to the

cause of humanity with which, under God, all governments are solemnly charged.

That while the literature of Great Britain exercises so vast an influence over the public opinion of America, we deem it the duty of British abolitionists, individually, as well as collectively, to make systematic efforts to secure a frequent, clear, and full expression of the sentiments of the nation, through its leading religious, political, and literary periodicals, on the subject of slavery, and the anti-slavery enterprise in the United States; to fix the attention of the world on the successful results of the West India emancipation; and to spread before the American public, evidence of the deep indignation of the civilized world, against a slave-holding republic.

A volume entitled, "Replies to the Queries of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, on Slavery in the United States," having been laid on the table, and numerous other papers and statements submitted, relating to the present operation of slavery in the United States, were referred to a Committee, who were desired to consider the same, and to prepare them for publication.

16TH, TUESDAY.

Address to the French people.—Slavery in the Dutch Colonies.—Mohamedan slavery.

Agreed, that an Address from this Convention, be transmitted to the French people, earnestly impressing on them the injustice, and impolicy of any longer tolerating the existence of slavery, in their colonies.

G. W. ALEXANDER, and JAMES WHITEHORNE, Esqrs., brought the subject of slavery in the Dutch Colonies, before the Convention; the former also adverted to it, in connexion with the Swedish possessions.

A Committee was appointed to prepare a report of the

present state of Slavery in the Dutch Colonies, together with an address to the people of Holland, upon the duty and advantages of seeking its immediate abolition.

Also, a Committee to take into consideration, the best way of assisting to effect the suppression of slavery in Mohamedan countries.

17th, Wednesday.

Paper on African slave-trade.—Statement on slave-trade in Cuba.—Turnbull's plan for suppression of slave-trade.—Report on manuscript on American Slavery.—On the holding of slaves by British functionaries.—On articles manufactured for the slave-trade.

A paper was read on the slave-trade, as now carried on from the western coast of Africa.

A detailed statement of the nature and operation of the slave-trade in Cuba, was presented by R. R. Madden, Esq., M. D., and he was requested to place his statement in the hands of a Committee, for its translation into the Spanish language, in order to promote its circulation.

A plan for the suppression of the slave-trade, was submitted by D. Turnbull, Esq., and referred to a Committee, to consider and report thereon.

The Report of the Committee appointed to consider the Replies to Queries furnished by the Abolition Society of America, containing most valuable and very important information, was presented and referred to the publication Committee, to publish the whole, or such parts as they may deem expedient.

A Committee was appointed to prepare a memorial to government deprecating and strongly reprobating the holding of slaves by British functionaries.

A Committee was also appointed to make the following inquiries:—

1. Whether manacles for slaves are manufactured in this country.

2. Whether large quantities of inferior fire-arms are also manufactured in Great Britain, to be sold to the Africans for their slave wars.

3. Whether cotton goods of a particular fabric and to a large amount are manufactured in this country, and solely intended for being used in barter for African slaves.

4. Whether persons in England hold shares in Brazilian and other mines which are worked by slaves.

5. Whether any British Joint Stock Banks have branch establishments in countries in which the slave-trade prevails.

6. What are the quantities of gunpowder exported from any port or ports in Great Britain to Africa and other parts of the world, respectively?

18TH, THURSDAY.

Resolutions on withholding Christian fellowship with slave-holders.—Hudson's Bay Company.—Free people of colour in Canada.—Slavery among the North American Indians.

1. That it is the deliberate and deeply-rooted conviction of this Convention, which it thus publicly and solemnly expresses to the world, that slavery, in whatever form, or in whatever country it exists, is contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice and the spirit and precepts of christianity; and is, therefore, a sin against God, which acquires additional enormity when committed by nations professedly christian, and in an age when the subject has been so generally discussed and its criminality so thoroughly exposed.

2. That this Convention cannot but deeply deplore the fact, that the continuance and prevalence of slavery are to be attributed in a great degree to the countenance afforded by many christian churches, especially in the Western world, which have not only withheld that public and emphatic testimony against the crime which it deserves, but have retained in their communion without censure, those by whom it is notoriously perpetrated.

3. That this Convention, while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to christian communities, the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submits that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion, all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned in the spirit of the gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures, or holding them in slavery—a sin, by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade.

4. That it be recommended to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, in the name of this Convention, to furnish copies of the above resolutions to the ecclesiastical authorities of the various christian churches throughout the world.

Statements were laid before the Convention connected with the Hudson's Bay Company. On the condition of free people of colour in Canada. Also, on slavery among the Indians in North America, referred to a committee, to report to the meeting thereon.

19TH, FRIDAY.

Resolutions on Free-labour adopted.—Resolutions founded on a report of the Committee, on the prejudices of colour, adopted.

1. That upon the evidence of facts to which the attention of this Convention has been directed, it is satisfactorily established as a general axiom, that free-labour is more profitable to the employer, and consequently cheaper, than slave-labour.

2. That of all kinds of slave-labour, that of imported slaves has been demonstrated to be the most costly, and the least productive.

3. That the large profits, which, notwithstanding the disadvantages of slave-labour, have been realized in the cultivation of sugar, cotton, and other tropical productions, have

arisen from, and depend on two circumstances: first, the large tracts of rich unoccupied soil, which, by their extraordinary fertility, have repaid the expenses of imported slave-labour, under the rudest and most wasteful husbandry; and secondly, the artificial maintenance by fiscal regulations of the high prices it gained for tropical productions on their first introduction into Europe, those prices being so high as to support slave-cultivation in the absence of the planters from the management of their own estates, by, and under a system which could not have succeeded in any other branch of the agriculture, commerce, or manufactures of this or any other country.

4. That the continued employment of slave-labour, invariably tends to lessen and exhaust the fertility of the soil, so as eventually to destroy the profits of the planter, who finds himself unable to compete with the possessors of fresh lands. That owing to this course, the cultivation of the tropical produce by slave-labour, has been to a great extent abandoned in the middle States of the American Republic, where the slave-population is reared for the purpose of being sold to the planters of the south, thereby proving that the value of the slaves would otherwise have been destroyed by their numerical increase, and the exhaustion of the soil; as also, that imported slave-labour is dearer, by the profit realized upon the rearing of the slaves.

5. That the higher cost of imported slave-labour, even the labour of a native slave population, is strikingly illustrated by the fact, that the cultivation of cotton in the United States, has reduced the market prices of the cotton of Brazil, cultivated by imported slaves, about one-third, and that while the cultivation of Brazilian cotton has been stationary, that of American cotton has steadily increased.

6. That the superior cheapness of free-labour has been strikingly evinced in the cultivation of indigo, which, fifty years ago, was wholly supplied by slave-labour. As the result of British skill and enterprise, the indigo of India has gradually displaced from the market, the slave-grown indigo of the

Carolinas and South America, till there is now, not an ounce imported into Europe; and so far as regards the cultivation of that article, the labour of hundreds of thousands of slaves has been superseded by free-labour, the annual produce averaging in value, between three and four millions sterling.

7. That there is every reason to believe, that the success which has attended the application of free-labour to the growth of indigo in India, would follow upon the extended cultivation of other tropical produce, by the free natives of that vast empire, and of other portions of the world, so as to supersede in other articles, the produce of slave-labour, and thereby contribute to extinguish both slavery and the slave-trade. That in particular, as slavery in the United States is mainly dependent for its existence upon the import into Great Britain of the slave-grown cotton of America, to the amount, in 1838, of more than 400,000,000 lbs. weight: were measures adopted to encourage the growth of cotton in India and elsewhere by free-labour, not only would an incalculable benefit be conferred upon the millions of the human race now employed, but by supplanting slave-grown cotton in the European market, it would, as the certain result, materially aid the extinction of American Slavery.

8. That the advantages of free-labour cultivation, cannot, however, be fairly attested, or fully realized under a system of husbandry and general management which has grown up under the existence of slavery, and, which is attended by a waste of human labour, that, but for monopoly, prices must have absorbed all the profits of cultivation. That the unrestricted competition of free-labour in the cultivation of sugar, would necessarily introduce a new system, by which the cost of production would be further diminished, and the fall of prices that must ensue, would leave no profits upon slave-grown sugar.

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1. That the practice of excluding people of colour from places of worship, or allotting them separate seats therein, tends to

perpetuate the unchristian and unfounded prejudices against the coloured people.

2. That any distinction in the treatment, whether in schools, colleges, houses of public worship, or in any other respect on account of colour, is opposed to the benign spirit of christianity.

3. That abolitionists, and all who assume the name of friends of the coloured race, act inconsistently with their professions, unless they use all their influence to put an end to such unchristian practices.

4. That this Convention most earnestly entreats all christian professors, all true abolitionists, immediately to give up all those unrighteous distinctions, which have their origin in the prejudice against colour; and that in their social intercourse as citizens and as christians, they treat the coloured man as an equal and a brother.

20th, Saturday.

Address to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and to the Vice-Roy of Egypt.—List of articles the produce of slave-labour to be prepared.—Resolutions on Slavery in British India.—On Texas.—On the subject of compensation.—A Report from the Committee appointed to consider the case of British functionaries holding slaves was presented, and an address to Lord Palmerston adopted.—Address to heads of governments to be prepared.

To the Right Honourable
Lord Viscount Palmerston, G.C.B. M.P.

My Lord,

I have the honour to communicate to your lordship a resolution unanimously passed at a meeting of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, held at Freemasons' Hall, on the 17th of the present month.

Associated for the great object of abolishing slavery, by means solely of a moral, religious, and pacific character, they have not been inattentive to the course of events in the oriental world, and they breathe an earnest prayer that the crimes and

calamities of war may be prevented by the friendly intervention of the powers of Europe. They would humbly and earnestly implore your lordship to use your high authority for connecting the overthrow of slavery with the consolidation of peace.

In considering the situation filled by the Grand Seignior, as the representative of the Caliphat, the Convention feel a strong conviction that if a declaration could be obtained from His Imperial Highness, condemnatory of slavery in any or all its forms, encouraging the manumission of slaves, and calling the attention of the Mussulman world to the state of opinion among civilized nations and governments, such a declaration could not but produce a happy influence throughout the Ottoman empire. And the Convention respectfully suggest to your lordship, that the friendly interposition of Great Britain could be employed for no nobler purpose, and that its success would reflect high honour on the head of Islamism, so eminently instrumental in strengthening the foundations of the Turkish government, and in diminishing the fearful amount of degradation, wickedness, and misery which everywhere accompany slavery.

I have the honor to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,
THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

To his Highness MAHOMET ALI PACHA,
Viceroy of Egypt, &c. &c. &c.

May it please your Highness,

An assembly of men gathered from various parts of the world, are now met in this capital to discuss the best means of putting an end to slavery and the slave-trade.

It has come to their knowledge, that when a representation was made to your Highness that the Egyptian troops had been engaged in hunting slaves, and had received slaves in payment of their wages, your Highness was pleased to communicate

your dissatisfaction, and to express your wish "to abolish a dishonourable traffic, even though its abolition should be attended with some sacrifices."

Your Highness's declaration has been laid before the Parliament of Great Britain, and thus it has come to the knowledge, not only of the British people, but of the civilized world, and I am instructed by this Convention to convey to your Highness the expression of their gratitude for the steps you have already taken, and their earnest hope that you will deign to give complete effect to your just and generous intentions. They will hail with delight every pacific measure which your Highness may adopt, in order to impede the importation of, and the trade in slaves; they have witnessed, with much satisfaction, all that has been done to encourage and protect the blacks in their painful pursuits of agriculture, and are persuaded, not only that the tranquillity, but the prosperity, both of government and people are intimately connected with that unmolested industry, which can never exist while the persons and the properties of the negroes are exposed to unchecked violence. They would trust that your Highness might also consent to abolish the slave-markets in Egypt, and, if they thus urge on your Highness these their most respectful solicitations, it is that they have been encouraged by past evidences of your humane purposes, to appeal to you for giving them their full development.

I have the honour to be, your Highness's
Most devoted humble servant,
Thomas Clarkson, President.

In order to facilitate the use of free-labour produce, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society be requested to institute, at their earliest convenience, a careful inquiry into the produce of slave-labour, and to prepare, for circulation, as complete a list as they can, of those commodities which are thus produced, furnishing, at the same time, a statement of articles which are obtained by free-labour.

1. That it appears by the most authoritative evidence, that there are, in British India, two distinct systems of slavery derived from the former Hindoo and Mohamedan governments, and legalized, regulated, administered, and enforced by the British government in India.

2. That Hindoo slavery, illegal, and existing only as a custom under the Mohamedan government, has been legalized by the British government in India, not by a positive, direct, and unequivocal enactment, which must have been submitted for the approval or disapproval of parliament, but by a doubtful interpretation of a law, the letter of which is acknowledged to be silent on the subject, and that Mohamedan slavery, legalized by the same means, practically exists in forms and circumstances, in which even the Mohamedan law does not recognize its validity.

3. That slaves in British India are both agrestic and domestic, and that the total number of slaves does not certainly fall short of 500,000, and probably greatly exceeds that number, exclusive of the number of slaves in dependent native states and principalities.

4. That slavery in India appears to have originated in Hindoo, and Mohamedan conquest, to have been increased under the native government by the sale of criminals, outcast concubines and their offspring; and under the British government, by the sale of criminals, and to be perpetuated at the present day, by the sale of free children by their parents, by the kidnapping of free children, by the sale of freemen by themselves, by the importation of slaves both by land and sea, and by the hereditary slavery of children born of slave parents.

5. That the treatment of male domestic slaves, with the exception of those who are eunuchs, appears in general to be mild—that the number of eunuch slaves in Mohamedan families throughout India, appears to be considerable, implying the continued commission of unnatural, and atrocious barbarities on the persons of slaves—that female domestic slaves are

subject to the arbitrary will of their masters, and are in general beyond the protection of the law; and that agrestic slaves both male and female, are subject to much oppressive and cruel treatment, from their own masters; and from the community, without adequate protection in the enjoyment of the rights, which the law nominally secures to them.

6. That the British government of India has, at different times, introduced various ameliorations into the law and practice of slavery in India; but that these ameliorations are in part only declaratory, even in form; as in the case of the prohibition by proclamation, not by enactment, of the exportation of the natives of India as slaves, in part directly opposed to the provision of an act of the Imperial Parliament, as in the case of the Act 51, Geo. III, cap. 23, making the slave-trade, felony; the provisions of which have been expressly and avowedly set aside by the East India Company's Bengal government, in as far as those provisions required the importation and exportation of slaves by land, and in place of them the provisions of regulation X., of 1811, of that government, had been held in force, and in great part are practically inoperative, affording little real protection against the evils and abuses to which the institution of slavery is inherently and essentially liable.

7. That numerous ameliorations of the law and practice of slavery, have been recommended to the British India government, by its own servants, which have been wholly neglected; and that the requisition of the Imperial Parliament in the Act of 1833, to take means forthwith to mitigate the state of slavery, to ameliorate the condition of slaves, and to extinguish slavery throughout India, as soon as such extinction shall be practicable and safe; and to prepare and transmit drafts of laws and regulations for such purposes, has been equally disregarded, except by the appointment of a commission in India, the constitution, the labours, the recommendations, and the results of which, if any, are wholly unknown to the British government, the British Parliament, and the

British people in the year 1840, seven years after the passing of the Act, directing that the means for the above purposes should be forthwith taken.

8. That in the bill for renewing the Charter of the Honourable East India Company, introduced into parliament in 1833, there was a clause providing for the abolition of slavery throughout British India, on the 12th of August, 1837; that this clause was omitted when the Bill came before the House of Lords, and the clause which has been referred to in the resolution immediately preceding, substituted; that during the same year, an Act was passed, abolishing slavery in the West Indies, Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope. Yet, notwithstanding, the strong feeling of the House of Commons, as shown in the clause which they adopted, the explicit provisions in the said clause of the Act, and the lapse of seven years, nothing effectual has been done to fulfil the just expectations of the parliament, and people of this country. That, therefore, it is for the British nation to direct their immediate attention to this important subject, and to seek the immediate and entire abolition of personal slavery throughout the whole of British India.

Whereas the people of Texas by their late revolt, have shown themselves signally ungrateful for the national hospitality that was extended to them as strangers, as well as for the benefits conferred on them as emigrant settlers by the Mexican government; and also in the violent dismemberment of Mexico, have shown themselves reckless of the peace and integrity of States. And, whereas, the said people of Texas in re-establishing slavery in that country, from which the justice and humanity of Mexico had wholly expelled it, and in their formally authorizing and encouraging the slave-trade from the United States, leave no room to doubt, that their aim is to perpetuate those iniquitous systems through all time. And, whereas, the said people of Texas in thus acting, have shown

themselves regardless not only of the claims of natural justice, but of christianity—have arrayed themselves in hostility to the public sentiment of civilized Europe, but more especially to the principles and measures of the people and government of Great Britain, in relation to the abolition of negro slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. Wherefore be it resolved,—

1. That Texas ought not to be received into the family of nations, whilst she retains in her written form of government, a provision for the establishment and maintenance of negro slavery, or authorizes and encourages the slave-trade by granting a monopoly of it to the slave-holders of the United States.

2. That in the opinion of this Convention, it would justly bring under suspicion the sincerity of those nations who have abolished slavery among themselves, and pledged their efforts for the suppression of the slave-trade throughout the world, were they to acknowledge the separate national existence of the people of Texas, whilst they continue their detestable warfare against the happiness and freedom of the negro race.

That as the British abolitionists solemnly protested against the compensation granted to the planters, while the question was before Parliament, and a strong conviction being entertained by this Convention of the injustice of man claiming a right of property in man, and that the title of the slave-holder to the person of his slave has its origin in robbery and the violation of all moral equity; this Convention is of the opinion, that the slave-holder on ceasing from his wrong, has no moral claim to compensation either from the slave himself, or the government under which he lives, for any loss he may sustain by emancipation. And, inasmuch, as it is an established maxim in all enlightened legislation, that what is morally wrong can never become politically right, this Convention expressly affirms, that the circumstance of any legislative body having sanctioned slavery, does not, in the least degree, alter the

principle upon which this Convention feels bound to enter its protest against compensation.

To the Right Honorable Lord Viscount Palmerston,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c. &c.

The memorial of the undersigned, the chairman, on behalf of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London on the 20th June, 1840.

Respectfully sheweth, that this Convention has learned with feelings of surprise and regret, that British functionaries in the Brazils and Cuba, and other slave-holding countries, hold slaves —that they purchase them in the public slave-markets and elsewhere,—work them in mines and on sugar plantations, employ them as domestic slaves, and sell them or dispose of them as necessity or caprice may dictate.

This Convention, under a strong impression of the utter injustice of slavery in all its forms, and of the evil it inflicts upon its miserable victims, and of the necessity of employing every means, moral, religious, and pacific for its complete abolition, feels it to be no less than an imperative duty to submit to the principal Secretary of State for foreign affairs, that the British parliament having declared it "just and expedient that all persons held in slavery in the colonies of Great Britain should be manumitted and set free," and that slavery should "be utterly abolished, and declared unlawful throughout the British possessions abroad;" that functionaries of the British government holding, hiring, buying, or selling slaves in foreign countries, is not only a violation of these just and equitable principles, but, that it is an example which gives countenance to the perpetuation of slavery, and to the continuance of the clandestine importation of slaves, and that it does materially contribute to prevent the extinction of slavery in those countries and throughout the world at large—an object most dear to the members of this Convention, and for the consummation of which they are especially assembled.

This Convention, therefore, earnestly solicits the early attention of Viscount Palmerston to the subject, and that he will be pleased to issue a declaration that the holding or hiring of slaves, directly or indirectly, is incompatible with the functions of any individual engaged in the service of the British government.

Robert Kaye Greville, V. P.

A Committee was appointed to prepare the draft of an address to heads of governments, representing the iniquity of slavery and the slave-trade, and earnestly setting forth the duty of promoting the abolition of both throughout the world.

22nd, Monday.

Resolutions founded on a Report on Mr. Turnbull's plan for suppressing the slave-trade were adopted.—On the moral advancement, orderly behaviour, and christian progress of the emancipated labourers.—Report from the Committee, on the condition of the coloured people in Canada and the Red Indians, and on slavery under the Hudson's Bay Company was read and adopted, and referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.—Resolution on Brazilian Slavery.—On the Internal Slave-Trade in America.—On the American Colonization Society.—Statements connected with Sierra Leone.—Resolution on the British Settlement on the West Coast of Africa.—Mr. Murray's plan for abolition of the slave-trade.—Resolution of sympathy with survivors of negroes on board the Amistad.—Letter from W. Beldam, Esq.

That it is extremely desirable that provisions should be made by the laws of those nations, where slavery is tolerated, for giving full and effectual relief to persons illegally imported and held in slavery, in consequence of such illegal importation, and to their offspring, as also to such persons as have been or may in consequence of their entering the limits of countries in which slavery exists as aforesaid, be reduced to slavery.

That in the opinion of this Convention, the present means in operation for the suppression of the slave-trade, have lamentably failed of success—that the sufferings of the slaves have been greatly augmented—that vast sums of money have been fruitlessly expended; and that no means can be effectual, except such as are based on moral, religious, and pacific principles.

That it is the opinion of the Committee, that the scheme of Mr. Turnbull as explained by him in his statement submitted to this Convention, on the 17th Inst., though it involves questions of detail, into which this Convention cannot enter, is, in its object and purpose, and several of its suggestions of great practical importance, and demands the earliest attention of the governments represented in the mixed Commission Courts, but that the only security for the extinction of the slave-trade is the universal abolition of slavery.

That the most cordial thanks of this Convention be given to Mr. Turnbull, for the unwearied zeal, and able exertion with which he has prosecuted the object.

That this Convention having heard with the deepest interest and the greatest satisfaction, the proofs adduced by the Rev. William Knibb and the Rev. John Clark, of the moral advancement, the orderly behaviour, and the christian progress of the emancipated labourers of Jamiaca, expresses its warmest sympathies with those devoted and calumniated men, Mr. Knibb and his coadjutors, who, under circumstances of much excitement and great difficulty, have, by their prudence, firmness, and christian courage, protected their coloured brethren in the enjoyment of those equal rights, and that entire independence which were intended by the great act of emancipation, and, which the liberality of the British people gives them a right to demand.

This Committee viewing with the deepest interest and the most earnest solicitude, the state, condition, and welfare of the coloured population of Upper Canada, and finding that attempts have been made by slave-holders in the United States, to recapture and bring into captivity such fugitive slaves as have taken refuge in that province, by accusations of felony; and as it has come to the knowledge of this Committee, that in the attempted surrender of persons so charged, human life has been sacrificed, do earnestly recommend to this Convention, to address her Majesty's Secretary of State

for the colonies, inquiring as far as he deems consistent with the public service, whether instructions have been sent to her Majesty's representative in Canada, so to act in the event of any renewed application, as will prevent a coloured fugitive from such surrender.

And whereas, public provision has been made in the different districts of Upper Canada for the purposes of education; and schools having been opened to which the coloured people have been invited by the Lieutenant-Governor of the province. And whereas, the odious and unchristian prejudice against colour, has operated most detrimentally in frustrating the desires of the government, by virtually excluding coloured persons from these schools; this Committee strongly recommend the Convention to address the Colonial Minister, requesting that he would issue such instructions as may ensure to the coloured population of Upper Canada, the benefit and blessings of education in common with the white inhabitants of the province.

This Committee also begs respectfully to submit to this Convention, that it is very desirable that the paper received from the Rev. Herbert Beaver, read by one of the Secretaries, showing that slavery is a recognized principle of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that native Indians are held as slaves, both by the Company and its servants, should be brought as early as possible under the notice of government, in order that immediate and effectual measures be taken for its entire suppression.

That this Convention has heard with horror and detestation, a few details of the appalling extent of the illegal trade in slaves from Africa to Brazil, and feels called upon to recommend the whole subject to the close and unremitting attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

That this Convention has heard with deep regret and sorrow,

the extent to which the internal slave-trade is carried on, from the older to the more newly settled slave-states of the American Union, to the extent of upwards of 80,000 victims annually, to this unrighteous traffic.

That in expressing their detestation of this traffic, and in acknowledging that it excites their deep surprise and abhorrence, that it should be protected and cherished by a nation which has abolished the African slave-trade, and declared it to be piracy: this Convention is impressed with the conviction that such a systematic trade in man, must be attended with excessive cruelty and wrong to the objects of it, and involves in its prosecution a fearful extent of barbarity and hardness of heart on the part of the man-trader, and that effectual means ought to be forthwith taken in the United States of America, to remove this stain from the character of that nation.

That this Convention regards the scheme of African Colonization, proposed and urged by the American Colonization Society, as not only totally inadequate to the overthrow of slavery in the United States, but as tending powerfully to strengthen that unrighteous system, as deeply injurious to the best interests of the negro-race, whether bond or free, both in America and Africa, and therefore as wholly unworthy of the countenance and aid of the philanthropist and the christian.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, late governor of Sierra Leone, made statements relative to that colony.

William Morgan, Esq., laid on the table two communications from Saxe Bannister, Esq., on the subject of the Liberated African Institution, and on the slow progress of Sierra Leone.

That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, be requested to take such steps as may appear best calculated to obtain a thorough investigation into the state of our present settlements on the West Coast of Africa, with

the view of exposing the abuses which have so long existed, and prevented the advancement in civilization and suppression of the slave-trade, so ardently desired by the real friends of Africa, and to obtain which, so much has been expended.

A paper detailing a plan of Slave-Trade Abolition by Mr. Murray, of Glasgow, having been laid on the table by the Secretaries, the same was referred to a Committee with instructions to report thereon.

That this Convention deeply sympathising with the survivors of the Amistad in their present condition, who, though legally and fully proved to be free, are yet incarcerated as though they were slaves, do address a memorial in their behalf to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, imploring him to exert the utmost influence of the British Crown with the Governments of Spain and the United States of America for their deliverance according to law, and that Captain Stuart, Dr. Madden, and the mover and seconder, be a Committee to prepare and bring in such memorial.

The Rev. Thomas Scales having laid on the table a letter from W. Beldam, Esq., with two pamphlets written by him: the same were referred to the Committee on the results of emancipation.

23rd, Tuesday.

Resolution respecting Missionaries.—An Address to the French nation.—Resolution on Slave grown sugar.—Address to heads of governments.—Papers on the right of appeal.—Resolution brought up from the Committee on the employment of British capital.—On the results of Emancipation.—Madagascar.—Russian Serfage.—Resolution on Dutch and Danish Slavery.—Slavery in Cuba, and other Spanish Colonies.—Slavery in Ceylon.—Mr. Murray's plan for abolition of Slave-trade.—Records of the Convention.—Concluding minutes.

That this Convention gladly embraces the opportunity of recording their high admiration of the conduct of those Missionaries and Ministers of all religious denominations in the West India Colonies, who with energy, zeal, and perseverance, have, amid many difficulties, endeavoured to secure the rights and

promote the welfare of the negro race; and the Convention would express their deepest sympathy with those of the above Missionaries and Ministers who may have suffered, or may now suffer in their personal property, or personal liberty, on account of an honest and faithful adherence to the principles of justice, liberty, and truth.

To the French Nation.

A Convention composed of deputies from various parts of the civilized world is now assembled in London, their object is by peaceful, moral, and religious means to effect the overthrow of the slave-trade and slavery, seeking the co-operation of all the friends of justice and humanity, they address themselves to the French nation.

That nation is honoured by early protests against the right of man to kidnap, to enslave, to create a property in his fellow-man, the States-General were among the first to extend to the blacks those principles of freedom on which they grounded their own patriotic exertions. Though in abeyance for years, they were again recognised by Napoleon in 1815, yet more emphatically, after the revolution of 1830, which abolished the slave-trade in all the colonies of France.

The kings of France, the governments of France, the tribunals of France have recognised for centuries, that the slave is free from the moment in which he touches the French soil; and the Convention rejoices to recognise the important truth, that it is not by law, but by sufferance—not by the sanction of the representation; but by the enaction of public opinion, that slavery has been associated with French colonial interests, and allowed to tarnish the splendour of the glory of the French name.

The Convention would not forget whatever may have been attempted to ameliorate the condition of the slave in the colonies of France. They hail every act of the legislature by which the heavy burden of slavery may have been lightened, and they especially rejoice that the attention of a great and

generous nation is beginning to awake to a sense of the grievous wrongs, the cruel injustice, the intolerable oppression under which the slaves in the French Colonies are still doomed to labour.

For those wrongs, for that injustice, for those oppressions there is but one, one only, remedy. The emancipation of the negro, the final overthrow of slavery, the good work which France has begun by the abolition of the slave-trade, we call upon her to accomplish in the annihilation of slavery itself. Time was, when the fears of the timid might have prognosticated evil from immediate and entire emancipation, but now the experiment has been made, and the friends of the slave, point joyously to its beneficial, to its immense results. Nobly have the exertions of the friends of the negro been rewarded in the British Colonies, by a vast accession to human happiness, and by the spread of virtue and religion, the only basis of true and lasting prosperity. The Convention trusts that the French people, faithful to the doctrines they have so often proclaimed, will establish the right to liberty, and demand its application to every negro who is held in bondage. Not by the coercion of violence, but by the mightier power of truth, peace, and religion, would the Convention trust that the demon of slavery will be banished from the world.

What other appeal is wanting but this—that a quarter of a million of human beings are held in ignominious bondage by a free and civilized nation! Chattels—not men, and women, and children! Property—not friends and brethren! And by what right? Who has permitted the white man to tyrannise? Who has condemned the black to be trampled on? The French nation—No! it will repudiate the opprobrium—it will redeem itself from the stigma. It will nobly respond to the urgent—to the irresistible appeal,—on no terms consent to continue a system of bondage under the name of slavery, or of apprenticeship; both involve similar injustice and similar cruelty; both are equally repudiated by the tried friends of the negro. We call upon you by every consideration of liberty—of huma-

nity—of religion, to emancipate, immediately and unconditionally, to emancipate your slaves.

That, impressed with the importance of avoiding all means of strengthening slavery and the Foreign slave-trade, this Convention is of the judgment, that the British government ought on no account to allow of the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market; and that the friends of the abolition of slavery, ought, in their individual character, to uphold this view.

From a Convention of the friends of the slave, assembled from various parts of the world, for the purpose of promoting the immediate, entire, and universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, by those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character, held in London on the 12th, and by adjournments to the 23rd of June, 1840.

To ——————

May it please

"Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people." Righteousness is comprehended and enforced in this precept of the Lord Jesus Christ,—"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

God has created of one blood all nations of men that dwell upon the face of the earth. We are all, of whatever nation or clime, by nature the children of Adam. With the great Creator of all things there is no respect of persons; all men are brethren; and in this relation of brotherhood, they are all entitled to the equal enjoyment of personal and civil liberty.

Slavery and the slave-trade are a violation of this great principle. The assumption by man of a right of property in man, is in open opposition to the pure and righteous law of God; and, hence, the perpetration of these crimes has ever been found to obstruct the happiness of man. Oppression and cruelty

are their certain attendants; they have their origin in pride and avarice, and they foment and strengthen all the evil passions of the human heart.

In later years, the attention of the world has been increasingly directed to these enormous sins, and the Congress of the representatives of the Sovereigns assembled at Verona, in November, 1822, declared that they considered the slave-trade "as a scourge which has too long desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity." The slave-trade continues to exist in an aggravated form.

It is estimated that upwards of 300,000 human beings are annually sacrificed on the Continent of Africa, in the prosecution of this wicked traffic. In addition, upwards of 70,000 are annually transferred from the older to the more newly settled slave-states in the United States of North America. Millions of the human race are also still retained in unrighteous and cruel bondage.

This Convention, therefore, being solemnly impressed with a sense of the national sin of slavery and the slave-trade, and under a settled conviction that the only effectual means to put an end to the slave-trade is to abolish slavery, does most earnestly and respectfully appeal to , to employ all that influence and power with which Divine Providence has entrusted to secure immediate and unconditional liberty to the slave.

It is high time that the civilized world, and more especially those nations which bear the christian name, should purge themselves from these foul abominations. We open our mouth for the dumb, and plead for brethren, who cannot plead for themselves. The Lord Jesus Christ died upon the cross for them equally as for us.

Great Britain has at length manumitted the slaves in the West India and in other colonies. It has been declared by the law of the British government, that slavery shall for ever cease in those colonies; the happiest results have ensued.

Most gratifying reports have been now presented, showing

that the negroes have peaceably exchanged a state of slavery for one of freedom. Industry prevails, prosperity increases, and christianity is honoured and practised. We desire reverently to commit this cause to God. We implore his blessing on this appeal. We pray that through the power of the Holy Spirit, Rulers and Subjects may in all countries be brought to receive and to act upon the gospel of our Holy Redeemer; and that the day may be hastened when violence shall no more be heard throughout the habitable earth, wasting or destruction within her borders.

A paper was read on "the right of appeal to slave-holding governments, and the best means of rendering such appeals effectual," and referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

That this Convention learns with profound regret, that there are British subjects who render immediate support to the slave-trade or slavery—some by supplying the articles necessary for conducting it—some by furnishing, as bankers, the capital employed in it—some by holding shares in mining associations, the purchasers of the victims of the traffic—and some even by actual manufacture and exportation of the arms and manacles employed in the abduction of these victims.

That the employment of British subjects, and British capital, directly or indirectly, in support of slavery or the slave-trade, is not only deeply to be deplored but strongly to be reprobated, inasmuch as it involves a grave moral responsibility—a flagrant dishonour to the British name, and an outrageous inconsistency with the avowed desire, the strenuous endeavours, and the costly sacrifices of Great Britain, for the suppression thereof.

That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society be requested to consider the propriety of remonstrating in a spirit of kindness and firmness, with the directors and shareholders of any British companies having establishments

in countries where slavery or the slave-trade is carried on, with reference to the tendency and effect of their operations in those places, and of the employment of British capital, in directly, or indirectly sustaining the slave-trade.

That the beneficial results of emancipation in the British colonies, as exhibited in the religious, moral, and social improvement of the labouring population, have far exceeded the most sanguine anticipations of the friends of freedom and humanity. That the increased value of property in these colonies, satisfactorily proves the measure to be one of great advantage to the planters and proprietors; and that, in order to the salutary and efficient working out of this great experiment—the progress of colonial legislation must be zealously watched—the withdrawal of a stipendiary magistracy strenuously resisted; and an entire reformation in the administration of justice perseveringly sought.

That this Convention is painfully impressed by the fact, that the enemies of human rights are actively promoting oppressive measures, both in this country and in the colonies—the object of which is to silence those philanthropists who advocate the cause of the poor, and to consign the emancipated to a new and bitter bondage.

That this Convention would particularly refer to the laws recently passed in Jamaica and Barbados, and to the persecution of Missionaries and others in the former colony; and this Convention therefore earnestly implores the friends of the anti-slavery enterprise, and especially the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, carefully to observe and take measures for frustrating all insidious attempts, either to abridge the liberties of the emancipated, or to silence and crush their protectors.

A paper on Madagascar and letters from New York were laid on the table, and referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, with a request that they

may receive its best consideration, and be disposed of as may appear most conducive to the advancement of the great objects of this Convention.

A paper was read on Russian serfage, prepared by a gentleman long resident in Russia.

Resolved,—That the paper now read be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

That this Convention being deeply impressed with the importance of promoting the Abolition of Slavery throughout the European Colonies, recommend the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to prepare an address on this subject to the people of Holland and Denmark.

Resolved,—That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society be requested, (in addition to procuring a translation of Dr. Madden's statement on the subject of slavery in Cuba for circulation in Spain,) to take such other steps as they may deem best adapted to promote the emancipation of the slaves in the Spanish Colonies.

A paper was read on Slavery in Ceylon, and some resolutions suggested, by a gentleman of high official station, on the same subject, were referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Resolved,—On the recommendation of the Committee, that the plan of Mr. Murray, for the abolition of the slave-trade, be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Resolved,—That the records of this Convention be committed to the custody of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, together with the documents presented to it, and that it be left to that Committee to make such use of them, by printing and publishing, as they may

deem expedient, with a view to promote the objects of the Convention.

This Convention desires to offer reverent thanksgivings to Almighty God, for his gracious providence in permitting the assembly of so many christian and philanthropic men, from different parts of this country and from other nations, to deliberate on the best means of effecting the utter extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, for the harmony which has obtained among its members as to fundamental principles of action, and for the cordiality and general unanimity which have distinguished their proceedings; and, that calling to mind those pacific, moral, and religious principles, upon which, as a Convention, it has agreed to act, would conclude its important deliberations, by expressing its entire dependence on the blessing of Him who has given us command to break every yoke and to let the oppressed go free; and by recording its solemn sense of the necessity of every friend of the cause, not to relax any effort in this great undertaking until unconditional freedom shall be secured to every slave.

The Convention received, in devotional silence, this expression of feeling, and, after remaining together some minutes, the chairman declared the meeting dissolved.

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